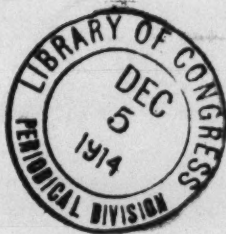


The Suffragist

FIVE CENTS

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 5, 1914



Drawn by
Nina E. Allender

"Please, Mr. President, remember 'Votes for Women' in your message"

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union
for Woman Suffrage

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News of the Week

Plans for Democratic Deputation Maturing

THE plans for the deputation of Democratic women to the President on January 6th to ask his support of the Bristow-Mondell Suffrage Amendment, are well under way. Arrangements have been made for a meeting at the Public Library, Ninth and New York Avenue, in honor of the deputation at one o'clock on the same day. After the speeches by prominent Democratic women at this meeting, the delegation will proceed to the White House.

This week other names have been added to the list of those who have signified their desire to participate in the delegation. Among them are Mrs. J. Edson Briggs, regent of one of the D. A. R. Chapters; Mrs. Frank Harper of Alexandria; Mrs. H. C. Cook and Miss Mayher, and Mrs. Ella S. Knight, prominent club women; Mrs. A. S. Maddox; Miss Margaret Killeen and Mrs. Adelaide B. Neale.

Many Democratic women who find that they will be unable to attend the deputation have signified their intention of sending personal letters and telegrams to President Wilson on this date, expressing their support of the purpose of the deputation.

Good Laws Adopted in Suffrage States

AT the recent election in the woman suffrage states the women helped to pass some excellent laws, and the result of the election is generally regarded as another evidence that women will work for civic righteousness when the opportunity comes.

In California the red light injunction and abatement law submitted as a referendum measure passed by a majority of 40,000.

In Colorado a most important measure was passed. This was to provide for the creation of a child welfare commission composed of Judge Ben Lindsey, Lillian H. Kerr of Colorado Springs, and Josephine Roche of Denver, to draft a new code of laws relating to women and children.

No less important than the measures passed are the measures defeated. One such was lost in Washington. The Quincy irrigation bill provided that the state should loan its credit to the extent of \$40,000,000 for reclaiming large sections of land for agricultural purposes. This was lost by a two-to-one vote. The land was privately owned.

Illinois Women Interested in Good Government

THE women of Cook County, Illinois, took a great interest in the action of the Drainage Board officials during the past year and as a result succeeded in defeating the undesirable members who were running for re-election this November. Had it not been for their large vote this result could not have been accomplished. During the past year special committees representing many women's organizations have attended most of the meetings of this board and then have reported back to their constituents.

Another evidence of the interest taken by the women of Illinois in political matters appears in their opposition to the so-called Geiger Ordinance. This gave the mayor power to issue special permits for dancing in cafes. Assistant Corporation Counsel Hornstein explained that the measure would allow dancing in places which could not obtain regular dance hall licenses because of inadequate fire-escapes or insufficient entrances or exits. Nearly one hundred women gathered in the committee room to protest against this measure. They said they did not want to intimidate, but they wanted to remind the aldermen that they were now voters and that if this ordinance were allowed to pass they would make it an issue in the approaching aldermanic campaign and would try to defeat those men who permitted it to become law.

Women and the Professions

MR. GILSON GARDNER has made an interesting analysis of the United States census figures just published, in which he shows that "a constantly increasing share of the brain work of the United States is being performed by women." He thus summarizes his study of this feature of the Census:

The report on occupations shows that in the professions there are a total of 1,825,127 persons. Of these, 1,151,709 were males and 673,418 were females, the males constituting 63.1 per cent of the total and the females 36.9. Thus, in 1910 there were four women to every seven men in professional work.

That women are more largely engaged in professional work, as compared with men, than in other occupations, is shown by the fact that in 1910 the males constituted 78.8 per cent of the total of all occupations, while the females constituted only 21.2 per cent of all, as compared with 36.9 per cent of professional occupations.

Of the eleven classes into which professional occupations are divided by the census experts, women had a preponderance over men in actual numbers in two classes, constituting 60.6 per cent of all the "musicians and teachers of music," and 70.2 per cent of the "school teachers and professors in colleges." In every class except one (actors) the percentage of increase was greater among the women than the men. The most notable increases occurred in the profession of "clergymen" (including religious and charity workers), where the increase for the women was 183.8 per cent, as compared with 14.9 for the men; and in the profession of "journalists," where the females increased their percentage by 90.7, as compared with only 8.7 for the men.

Wages of Women

ACCORDING to the report of Mr. Howard B. Woolston, director of the wage investigation of the New York Factory Investigating Committee, eight thousand out of the fifteen thousand wage-earners in New York City received less than \$6.50 a week during the busy season last year. He says: "Half the wage-earners throughout the state where the investigation was conducted, received less than \$8 a week. Out of a total of 104,000 women, one-eighth earned less than \$5, one-third less than \$7, two-thirds received \$10 or less, and only one-sixth made \$15 or more. Our figures show that at amature age and after years of experience half the women do not attain \$10."

A typical weekly budget shows on what a narrow margin these women are compelled to live. The items of expense are as follows: Clothes, \$1.50; room, \$2; food, \$2.50; car fare, 30 cents. This leaves 20 cents for incidentals, including amusements, doctor's bills and savings for periods of unemployment.

A Woman Poormaster

AFTER opposing the proposition for a year, the Jersey City Commission, by a vote of three to two, has elected Miss Anita Grish, of Hoboken, to be the Poormaster of Jersey City. There was a strong prejudice against giving the place to a woman and various tricks were resorted to in order to defeat the appointment. Mayor Fagan, however, was firm in his purpose, and Miss Grish was designated to fill the position temporarily. Even after she had passed the civil service examination with the highest average and had shown her competency by practical work, the opposition continued.

At Wednesday's meeting of the Commission Miss Grish won, and all who are interested in the reform of Poor Department methods will await with some interest the changes that Jersey City's first woman Poormaster will introduce. They cannot but be improvements over the old system, which, it is generally understood, was to give charity to the greatest possible number of friends of the politicians, no matter how undeserving they may have been.

Woman Suffrage Coming of Age

THIS autumn marks the twenty-first anniversary of the passage of the electoral act which gave the vote to the women of Zealand. In a recent issue of the *Dunedin Evening Star* of New Zealand there was a symposium on the working of woman suffrage in that time. Among the prominent women who stated their opinions was Mrs. Katherine W. Sheppard, who said: "Women are working more side by side with men in many ways." She further points out the valuable legislative reforms that have been passed with the aid of women. These include the Infants' Life Protection Act, the Widows' Pensions Act and such temperance measures as the License Act Amendment, which makes ten o'clock closing universal, besides many other important reforms.

Mr. John Rigg, a labor leader who originally opposed woman suffrage, confesses in this same symposium that he has changed his mind. "The presence of women at political meetings has had, I believe, a refining effect," he says, and he thinks their vote has had an excellent effect on temperance reform and industrial legislation for women.

The entire symposium constitutes an excellent testimony of what has been done in New Zealand by twenty-one years of equal suffrage.

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The President and Suffrage

By MARY BEARD

Secretary Legislative Committee, Woman's Trade Union League; Joint Author with Professor Charles Beard of "American Citizenship"

THE President of the United States, in his attitude toward political freedom for the women of his country, has not been moved by arguments of justice per se. In that respect he proves himself a man among men, for arguments of abstract justice have rarely been a strong motive force toward social reform or advancement.

The President of the United States has not been moved by arguments of self-government, for working-women who went to see him got no satisfaction.

The President of the United States has not been moved in his attitude toward political freedom for the women of his country, moreover, by arguments of political expediency. In this respect he may soon prove himself to be an independent thinker for the evidence, as we see it, all points to the necessity of espousing the cause of woman suffrage from the standpoint of political expediency.

The President of the United States ought, however, to be moved by one more appeal of a different nature about which there can be no controversy—an argument of demonstrable fact—namely, that it is to the interest of his country to have women vote. The club women went to the President as women who have done something for their country; but perhaps the President does not know what they have done. Since their deputation to him, the National Teachers' Association has endorsed the movement for political equality of the sexes. Can it be that the President does not know what the teachers are doing, either?

It would seem that lack of information alone can explain the somewhat haughty demeanor of superiority of the man among women and for the enlightenment of those who do not possess this information, we take pleasure in mentioning some of the concrete deeds of club women, teachers and women social workers which indicate that women have much to contribute toward the well-being of the citizens of the United States.

LORD BEACONSFIELD once said: "The public health is the foundation on which reposes the happiness of the people and the power of a country. The care of the public health is the first duty of a statesman." While male voters have allowed the most unhallowed destruction of life and limb to go on for a century, women have been seeking in every possible way to conserve life. Their entrance into the medical and nursing professions has resulted in revelations of the venereal diseases which are revolutionizing the attitude of male physicians toward the whole sex relation and laying the foundation for a more vigorous people than the world has yet known. Their organization of public health nursing and the enforced extension of governmental functions which their demands are bringing about is a significant sign of the times. Their insistence upon the federal children's bureau as a basis for a thorough-going effort to reduce infant mortality and their agitation for a federal woman's bureau, as a complement, to investigate the real status of mothers in this country now that certain insects and business frauds and highways have been proved to need atten-

tion, show that women have a sense of values and of the fundamental basis of national welfare that need expression in the government. The concrete things that women have done for public health are too numerous to mention; but a few may be cited as illustrations.

In New Orleans the women even did that most unwomanly and dangerous thing—voted—to authorize the municipal bond issues to be sure that their demand for pure water would receive attention and that the curse of yellow fever might be stamped out from their midst. Even outsiders claim that this was the largest public work of this character ever undertaken at one time in the United States by a municipality, but "the death rate in New Orleans has been reduced 20 per cent, business confidence has been restored and New Orleans is today one of the most beautiful and delightful cities of the country," according to one of the male lovers of that city.

WOMAN'S interest in and support of pure food and drug legislation is well attested by those men who have sought to promote better food and purer drugs. No one denies that women are pushing child labor legislation and in several states women are given the entire credit for what legislation has been secured. Garbage, clean streets, sanitation of houses and factories, flies, mosquitoes, noise, smoke, sex hygiene, mental hygiene, wages, marriage laws and customs as they affect health—all these and many more of the elements that enter into the problem of public health are receiving the earnest and steady attention of countless thousands of women all over this country. The women are not sentimental or hysterical about these matters, but they go to fundamentals, as the following extract from a leaflet issued by Miss Cannon of the Massachusetts General Hospital demonstrates:

"Of what use is it—

"If a patient, for whom the surgeon orders a back brace, starves herself to pay the bill?

"If a workman cured of rheumatism, goes back to his job in the damp cellar which caused it?

"If a clerk, fitted to glasses, returns to the dim desk which crippled her sight?

"If an unmarried girl, delivered of her child, goes from the maternity ward back to the neighborhood that ruined her?"

Medicine and surgery supplemented by social service not only cure disease but restore to full health and working capacity.

That social service, which is so vital in health work, is being woven more and more into the fabric of government and thus men wrench from women the institutions and functions they create. The women no longer view this social work as private philanthropy. That is the meaning of the endorsement of woman suffrage by the Federation of Clubs and by the teachers. They recognize the governmental responsibility for the conditions with which they have to deal and they see in increased governmental activity the only hope for the future. They must follow their good works where their good works lead.

In all this public health work, the women teachers

are at the right hand of the club women and the social workers and the women in office as sanitary inspectors, housing inspectors, school, medical and dental inspectors, promoters of higher standards of living and conduct for the sake of general health.

THE services rendered by the women of this country are not confined to health promotion, however. In education in all its aspects, in labor reform and understanding, in municipal housekeeping, in state legislation and enforcement, in national issues, women are as interested and intelligent as men, if not more so. We shall be content modestly to claim equality there. We shall be satisfied if men will be as modest.

All men are not willing to allow women to drudge unrecognized, as the following statement made recently at a meeting of the American Civic Association in Chicago proves. The president, Mr. J. Horace McFarland, when introduced as "the man who had made over Harrisburg, Pa.," said that it was not he, nor any man, nor set of men, who should have the credit for that. "It was the women of Harrisburg who dinned and dinned into our ears until at last we men got ashamed of our laziness and selfishness as citizens; and then the women and the men of Harrisburg made Harrisburg over into the beautiful and favored city that it is."

Spurred on by this honesty, perhaps, the vice-president, Hon. Franklin McVeagh, then said it was the women of Chicago who had started every one of the fifty-seven civic improvement centers in that city, after which the men had joined in and helped them. This he believed to be the history of civic improvement everywhere.

HOW, in view of all they have to give to their country, shall women be repelled longer when they ask, what every intelligent woman will ask until she is answered properly, for a share in the governmental control of health and education and labor and general well-being?

Does the President prefer that women shall develop the nagging habit which is the only alternative to voting? Does he prefer to have men receive the credit for the work done by women? Does he count business only as worthy of a deputation and cordial discussion?

The business men of Chicago asked him questions and he answered. If he had wrapped himself in a garment of dignity as head of a nation superior to "cross-examination" by business, and business had been indignant, would the *New York Times* have said that business should not seek to place itself upon a footing of Democratic equality with the President? We think not. The home should not be expected to command as much of the President's interest as business, except his own home, of course!

The President's last statement that he regards woman suffrage as a state matter, we must consider, in view of his position on the presidential primaries, as an evasion of the issue. We know too much of the history of politics in this country to be put off in that way. The President is just not interested.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914.
Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

President Wilson's Position on Suffrage

THE President, in a letter to Miss Mary M. Childs, of the Forest Service, which was given this week to the public press, defines his present position with regard to suffrage. "I am deeply impressed with the movement for woman suffrage," he writes, "but I have thought with you that it can be best worked, and most solidly and conclusively, if developed from state to state under the Constitution as it now stands, rather than by sweeping changes in the fundamental law of the nation. Such a change would, I think, be running too fast and too far ahead of the general public sentiment of the country."

It is difficult to understand how the President can feel that an amendment to the national Constitution enfranchising women would be "running too fast and too far ahead of the general public sentiment of the country" when approximately four million women in the country now have national suffrage, when a large proportion of the remainder have suffrage in local matters, and when a vast organized suffrage movement exists throughout the nation extending to the remotest districts and far exceeding in vigor the agitation which secured the income tax amendment or the direct election of senators.

Moreover, such a Constitutional amendment would not become law until ratified by a majority vote in three-fourths of the State legislatures. Any measure which commands the ratification of three-fourths of the States can hardly be said to be very "far ahead of the general public sentiment of the country."

All that we ask of the President is that he give his powerful support to this reform and use his influence to secure the submission of the amendment by Congress to the states, letting the States, through their legislatures, decide whether or not they wish the measure to become law.

Mr. Bryan's Attitude

WOMAN suffrage is coming—nothing in the future is more certain." Such is Secretary Bryan's latest pronouncement on the suffrage question.

Mr. Bryan's vigorous endorsement of suffrage leads us to hope that he will translate his belief into action and use his great power as a Democratic leader to induce the Democratic Party at Washington to cease blocking the national suffrage amendment. He can, if he will, render most far-reaching service to this amendment. We are grateful indeed for his advocacy of suffrage. We ask, however, that he be not content with

mere verbal endorsement, but back up his views by the action which is possible to him as one of the dominant members of the present government.

Secretary Bryan has taken up the cudgels for prohibition and has told his Democratic colleagues that they "have an issue to face and they may as well prepare for it." It is to be hoped that he will speak with equal frankness to his party in regard to the suffrage question and urge it to take a decided stand in support of suffrage as well as in support of prohibition.

1916

POLITICAL leaders are already at work on the 1916 campaign. Democrats the country over are pondering the lessons of November 3rd, and preparing to bulwark their position before the next election comes round. "Republican gains in the House are a notice to the party that it must gird itself for the campaign of 1916," says Secretary Bryan. "Now that the lines of battle are drawn," he continues, "it behooves Democrats to get to work and convert Republicans. There never was a better time. The voters are seeing Democracy successfully applied to great questions, and Democrats should be ready to point out and explain the difference between the policies of the two parties. The difference becomes more plain the longer Democratic policies are tried. Get to work."

Only by giving their support to truly democratic measures such as that of woman suffrage can the Democratic Party insure for itself the support of the people in 1916. In the election this November the well-known hostility of the National Democratic Party to the suffrage amendment was one of the factors which lost it votes. There can be no question but that its suffrage record was one of the principal issues in the election in each of the states where women are enfranchised. There can be no doubt but that the very general reduction in Democratic pluralities in these states and the defeat of several Democratic candidates for whom victory was believed assured, notably Representative Seldomridge for the Congressional seat in Colorado, and Mr. Neely for the Senatorial seat in Kansas, was largely attributable to the dissatisfaction felt by the women voters with the Democratic record on suffrage.

The influence exerted by this question in the November election, however, was nothing compared to the effect which it will have in the election two years from now. If the Democratic Party has not by that time made for itself a better record on this subject, it cannot hope to maintain its hold on its own members; much less to convert to its support members of other parties in accordance with the program laid down for it by Secretary Bryan.

The Secretary of State on Woman Suffrage

THE returns from the election of 1914 show woman's suffrage successful in Montana and Nevada, and unsuccessful in Ohio, Missouri, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska. The defeat in five states, while a disappointment to those who were working for woman's suffrage, will not discourage their efforts. It is a new proposition to many and it takes time to overcome that natural conservatism which opposes everything, no matter how meritorious it may be, until the arguments, pro and con, can be fully weighed. Inertia is defined as the tendency of a body at rest to remain at rest—this is a part of the definition. The burden or proof is always on those who desire to go forward, and in the early stages of a movement, the negative side includes those who lack information on the subject as well as those who positively oppose.

Woman's suffrage is coming—nothing in the future is more certain. Every day's discussion among the people increases the adherents and weakens the opposition. The very means employed to prevent it are sure to cause disintegration among the anti-suffrage forces. The active opposition to woman's suffrage is to be found in the brewery, the distillery and the saloon, and when this fact is known, those who are associated with the anti-suffragists will inquire the cause. When the cause is known, there will be wholesale abandonment of that side, for the most active opponents of equal suffrage can not give their real reason for opposing it without driving all the virtuous elements of society to the support of woman's suffrage.

The good people are in the majority in every community; a community in which the bad people were in a majority would not be fit to live in, even

the bad people would find it unprofitable to live in a community wholly bad, for the bad are poor picking even for the vicious. Unless the bad can prey upon the good, their vocation is profitless.

The bad are a unit against woman's suffrage. Every man who profits by vice; every man who draws dividends on crime; every man who makes it his business to encourage sin of any kind—all these are by instinct opposed to woman's suffrage because they know that woman's conscience is against their business. Why do the better elements divide in the presence of a united opposition? Why? Because they do not understand the nature of the contest.

Man's sense of justice cries out against the unfairness of present conditions. The man who sets traps for young men and lays snares for the boys as they grow up—he has the ballot and uses it in support of his work of destruction. Who will say that it is fair to tie a mother's hands and deprive her of the ballot while she is trying to save her son? What husband, when he is fully informed, will take the side of the saloon keeper against his own wife? If he fails to recognize his wife's rights, the son will not fail to recognize the rights of his mother; but the husbands will not wait for the sons to do this work.

Does any one doubt that woman possesses the necessary qualifications for suffrage? The voter needs intelligence and morality. Does woman lack either intelligence or morality? Go to your penitentiaries and you will find the men there in an overwhelming majority; in Nebraska over 98 per cent of the inmates are men, and less than 2 per cent women. Go to your churches and you will find that the women are in a majority there. If women have

sense enough to keep out of the penitentiary, and morality enough to go to church, who will say they are not fit to go to the polls.

It is argued that women will not vote. Well, many men do not vote. A large part of the campaign work every year consists in getting the voters out. It has cost the blood of millions of the best and bravest to secure for the people the right to participate in the government; yet men stay away from the polls for trifling causes. Men who would not hesitate to enlist in the army and give their lives for their country, sometimes neglect to vote, even when important questions are at issue. If many women stay away from the polls they will not do worse than many men do.

But those who oppose woman's suffrage on the ground that women will not vote (and it so happens that the very men who oppose woman's suffrage for fear women will vote wrong are the very ones who are the most fearful that she will not vote at all) overlook the value of the reserve force that can be brought into action in emergencies. We have heard a great deal of reservists since war broke out in Europe. A reservist is a citizen who does not serve in the regular army, but who can be called to the colors when necessary. Reservists have been returning from the United States to all the belligerent countries to take part in the war. If the women do not all vote all the time—if they are content to let the men settle the ordinary questions—they will still constitute a great reserve force ready for duty when needed. Whenever an issue arises which touches the home or deeply concerns the welfare of society, the women can be called upon—and they will not fail—W. J. Bryan, in *The Commoner*, November, 1914.

The Woman Wage Earner

By ROSE WINSLOW

ROSE WINSLOW spent eight years in the silk mills of Pennsylvania. By the time she reached maturity she had contracted tuberculosis as a result of the conditions under which she had worked and was thrown on the world without any means of support and too ill to earn a living. Her belief in suffrage for the working woman is the result of first-hand knowledge of the handicaps which the wage-earning woman faces.

IF we could give no other reason for granting women the vote than the inequality of compensation that obtains in practically all trades and professions, that in itself would furnish impetus for a great and vital movement. I go a step further than is expressed in the cry of "equal pay for equal work," because the only group benefiting by the former slogan is the professional group. They have come into existence principally through the agitation of the pioneer Suffragists, and since their advent into the world of men have fought and are still fighting against sex discrimination. But great as is their need of justice, the need of the women in industry is much more poignant, not only because of their greater number and pitiful helplessness, but because they are being continually used to lower the wages of men.

Women came into industry very naturally. At first they merely did in a factory what the same class of women did at home. And far from their presence encountering any opposition, public opinion approved and lauded the enterprising manufacturer



Rose Winslow

for having outwitted the devil in finding work for "idle women" to do. All of which was the obvious thing because drudgery for women has never lacked popularity. So because land was still to be had during the infancy of our industrial civilization, men tilled the soil and couldn't be drafted into its service. The prohibitive price of male labor made the manufacturer cast longing eyes on women and children, "eating the bread of idleness," and thus was born the woman wage earner. No horror-stricken voice was raised to protest, "Woman's place is in the home; let her remain within the sphere ordained for her since time began." There were only practical references to the money saved the community in poor taxes, and the value to it of the goods made by these laborers. Man was quite content that woman should do the monotonous, unremunerative labor of the world, as they had always done, and only when other classes of women threatened to invade the honorific and well-paid professions by demanding the training necessary for them, did he realize the grave danger to the race and to the women themselves in this frantic unsexing.

WOMEN, lacking superior physical strength, have been forced with children into the most deadening and nerve-racking of occupations—the various textile industries. The qualities that are characteristically hers, and of great value in these highly speeded industries, deftness, delicacy and quickness of touch, have been recognized, because in some of them she has practically a monopoly; but these qualities have been recompensed. For instance, in all the many kinds of spinning mills, her wage rarely goes above eight dollars; the average is six. A ditch digger gets twelve, just double, and he is not cooped up in foul, smelly mills, breathing his own poisons, because air is too expensive in many kinds of textile-weaving—knitting and spinning—it breaks the threads or blows dust on them, damaging the product. In silk mills the air must be kept damp so that we may have beautiful cloths, and the makers, tubercular lungs.

Even when women, as happens occasionally, do absolutely the same work as men, their wages are less. In some of the iron foundries in New York, where, according to the State Factory Investigating Commission's report, women work side by side with men at the furnaces, being relieved of none of the processes, producing as much and more than the men, they receive four dollars and fifty cents a week, while the men get three dollars a day.

Now some one will trot out that hoary old standby, "men have families to support and they are paid on that basis." Then how account for this bit of testimony from an owner of one of the largest department stores in New York City, before the Industrial Relations Commission? When asked what was the lowest wage paid in his store to adult salesmen, he answered, "Six dollars." Later he was asked the age and wage of the boys who help on the delivery wagons. He said he employed none under eighteen and paid no one less than eight dollars a week. Boys of eighteen or nineteen aren't usually burdened with families. Nor can there be any doubt in the fair mind as to comparative amount of brain power exerted by the boy who delivers goods at the doorstep or the woman who sells them over the counter.

Just one more example of the chivalry shown to bread-earning women: the common sight of the woman, usually widowed or deserted, with children to support, who scrubs. Everyone has seen her on her knees, often crippled with rheumatism (a trade disease), crawling over the stone floors of our office buildings. She is one of our institutions. Our lawmakers dignifiedly step over her bent form in the marble corridors of our Capitol at Washington. I wish I could remember the difference between her wages there and those of the pompous officials who

stand at the entrance doors, with duties which seem to be purely ornamental. It is great enough to be interesting. But I am not going to compare hers with such glittering male persons, only with the men who have invaded her sphere and are doing her work. I've known women who earned five or six dollars a week, who were forced through bad management to do their stint in two periods, necessitating the spending of one dollar and twenty cents weekly out of that generous sum for carfare. Men who do general cleaning in office buildings get about twelve dollars, and do no scrubbing, just mopping, dusting and sweeping, thus upholding the dignity and prestige of their sex even here in woman's stronghold.

PERHAPS the reader thinks I lay undue emphasis on the wage differences. It is because, though we hear a great deal about them in the higher paid occupations, no one ever speaks of them in the lowly jobs except in more or less technical books. And because I resent all efforts of the sentimentalists to minimize the tremendous part that a girl's wage plays in her outlook on life, and in her defences against the creatures that prey. Three-fifths of all women in industry, according to Prof. Scott Nearing, get less than eight dollars a week. The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, in making up an expense budget on a little over an eight-dollar wage, allows about thirty cents for church, ice cream sodas in summer, opera in winter, etc. I believe the above sum permits of the reckless expenditure of five cents every fortnight for the movies. The wage budget, of course, doesn't include cost of maintenance during periods of enforced idleness that occur in all occupations. The niggardly possibilities of pleasure that such a sum offers, makes girls depend on men friends for most or all of their diversions, which is obviously fraught with danger to the girl with the normal amount of hunger for joy.

A word about factory inspection. It must be an awfully easy job because in the eight years I spent in factories, I saw only one or two inspectors. And the filthy holes I worked in! Some without a single seat provided for about three or four hundred girls, so that everyone sat on the floor and ate her lunch mixed with dust from the machines. Others with toilet accommodations unspeakably vile, one with machinery so unprotected that my 16-year-old brother was caught in one of the belts and whirled through the air—the machine was stopped only in time to save him from death. I had a like experience in the same mill. But I shall not try to tell of all the unnecessary sordidness in the drab life of the industrial worker through the non-enforcement

of the few decent laws on the statute books of the states. That alone would furnish matter enough for a separate article. But I will tell of an incident that occurred during my connection with the Consumers' League of Philadelphia. It will furnish one reason for the above conditions. I worked a week in a place where violations of the labor laws were a daily occurrence. After I left I went back, as was the custom, to see some of the girls to find out if the violations had stopped. The superintendent, whom I met accidentally, began talking to me about our complaint. He said that when it was acted on from Harrisburg, and the inspector of the district called to investigate, he asked for a description of all the girls they had employed very recently. I had worked in this district before. The inspector's and superintendent's description of me matched, and the former said: "She's the one who has made all the trouble for you; she's done it in other mills around here." A perfect union of interests, with the worker, as usual, left out!

I AM confident that when woman gets the ballot, the unfair system of unequal pay will be broken down. She will have power, and through the exercise of it will force the world to a just appreciation of her abilities as a worker—and then not only will the highly-skilled trades be open to her, as they are not now, but she will demand the training required to take and keep her rightful place at the side of man, by making her skill equal to his. And only when she, with the help of man, insists that the burden of making all needed things is one too grievous for the undeveloped backs of children, that the labor of the world rests only on the shoulders of adults, that the woman laborer shall not be used as a pawn to intimidate and make craven the heart of the man who cries out to his Master that life is something to be lived, not drudged away—only then will we have started on that road leading to the land of promise where there will be neither master nor man, where he who builds the city will be no whit greater nor less than he who plows it, when the thought of the mother of men forced to sell her soul in the market-place to buy bread for her body, or because her imagination has been so starved through toil and penury that she sees joy's beckoning finger there, will be not only monstrous but inconceivable! Because with the labor of hand and brain will she be able to get all the joys, great and little, that help to make up a complete human life. And when her hour of mating comes, she will not come to it like the woman worker we know; exhausted, sapped out, to people the earth with the halt and the maim, but strong and beautifully free, she will be, and the fruit of her womb will be worthy of being called the human race.

Comments of the Press

The Deputation to Mr. Wilson

PRESIDENT WILSON next month will give a hearing to a delegation of women who want to present to him the arguments for a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage. So far the president has rather skilfully side-stepped this question but he apparently is coming to the turning of the ways.—*Daily Argus-Leader*, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., November 30, 1914.

The National Parties and Suffrage

THE drift is distinctly toward woman suffrage, as a national question, toward an amendment to the Federal constitution guaranteeing women against discrimination in the use of the ballot anywhere in the United States.

Republicans and Progressives are more and more becoming advocates of such an amendment. Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, in his successful campaign for re-election announced himself in favor of it. Representative James R. Mann, of Illinois,

Republican floor leader of the House, is now a suffragist.

Democrats of the Northern States are being won over. In the Far West both parties are committed to it. But the Democratic party in Congress is largely made up of men from the Southern States. After this winter the party in power will be absolutely dominated in both branches by the South. The South is opposed to woman suffrage, almost solidly. The split in the party over this question consequently may become as serious as that over the liquor question.—*The Washington Post*, Washington, D. C., November 29, 1914.

Campaign Through the Country

NOW that the election is over, members of the Congressional Union throughout the country are leaving no stone unturned to arouse interest in their immediate communities in the federal amendment, and bring pressure from those communities upon their Representatives in Congress and upon the President to secure their support of the National Suffrage Amendment. A campaign has been started covering the entire country so that a back-fire may be maintained in all constituencies in the interest of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment.

District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 F Street, Washington

WITH the two meetings for Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethrick Lawrence of England and a most delightful Thé Dansant at Rauscher's, and two Sunday teas at our headquarters, the winter work of the Congressional Union began in real earnest. The Sunday teas have been unusually interesting and profitable, and were the means of bringing our Washington members in intimate touch with the campaign of the West through the addresses of the organizers who have returned.

Last Sunday, November 29th, the tea was in honor of Miss Anna McCue, who with Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, campaigned in the state of Washington. Miss McCue gave the principal address of the afternoon. She said:

"We found in Washington the same condition that the other campaigners found in the other equal suffrage states. The women voters had never before realized that they had it in their power to help us in our struggle for enfranchisement. We have roused them to an understanding of the national need for woman suffrage, and their responsibility and power."

Mrs. Edna S. Latimer of Baltimore also reviewed most entertainingly some of her experiences in Kansas and Miss Elsie Hill presided. Miss Hazel Mack-aye acted as hostess of the occasion.

During the past week Miss McCue, Miss Gertrude Crocker and others have been holding street meetings every evening and at the noon hour.

The weekly tea on Sunday, December 6th, will take the form of a welcome home to Miss Lucy Burns, vice chairman of the Union, who conducted the campaign in California. She will speak at the headquarters, at four thirty.

Philadelphia

Headquarters: 1820 Pine Street

THE Philadelphia members of the Congressional Union have sent their organizer, Miss Anna McCue, to help for a month in the work at the National Capital. She is at present engaged in interviewing the Congressmen from her state and asking their support for the Bristow-Mondell resolution. Philadelphia members are concentrating on working up a large delegation of Democratic women to take part in the deputation to President Wilson on January 6th.

California

Headquarters: 45 Stockton St., San Francisco

THE Congressional Union now numbers 151 members in California, and this group is earnestly planning to rouse the California women to exert constant pressure upon their representatives in Congress in the interests of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. A local committee, of which Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney is treasurer, has undertaken to arrange a series of meetings.



Miss Ruth Noyes, who is in Charge of Congressional Union Headquarters in Colorado

Colorado

Headquarters: 324 Seventeenth Street, Denver
Organizer: Miss Ruth Astor Noyes

MISS RUTH ASTOR NOYES, who is in charge of the permanent headquarters of the Union in Colorado, has made plans for a careful campaign throughout the state. The people will be reached through regular suffrage meetings, through suffrage addresses before other organizations and conventions, and through social functions. Miss Noyes writes:

"We are planning to give a play, 'How the Vote Was Won,' in Colorado Springs, and are giving a ball in Denver to raise funds to carry on our headquarters. No effort on our part will be overlooked to make these two occasions great successes from the guests' standpoint, as well as financially. We have made some good friends for the Union at the Springs, and they are carrying through the suffrage play themselves. Miss Stevens remained at the Springs until today to perfect the plan, while I returned to Denver.

"On Friday next we have a meeting at Boulder, a college town about eighteen miles out of Denver. We are also planning a meeting of all our members in order that we may acquaint our friends with our proposed efforts to continue the work here.

"Our meeting at Golden this week was the means of securing many members for the Union. Mrs. Franklin Weiss Traphagen, wife of Dr. Traphagen of the Colorado School of Mines, one of the most noted copper experts in the world, herself a cultivated and active club woman, was hostess in her stately old house, which is historic as having been

the early home of the niece of Bonaparte. It is most picturesquely situated in the valley surrounding 'Castle Rock,' one of Colorado's famous beauty spots. The audience was made up of university and townspeople. All were keenly interested in hearing the past history and future expectations of the Federal Amendment. A reception followed. In the evening the contingent of Chinese students in the School of Mines, sent here by their government, were invited to the Traphagen home that I might meet them, and talk over the relative position of women in China and the United States. To a man, they were all ardent believers in 'Votes for Women,' and said that the citizenship which had been so unfairly denied their women at the formation of their so-called republic would very soon be given to them.

"This Sunday night the Socialists of Denver have turned over their regular meeting to the Congressional Union, at which time Miss Stevens will speak on 'Working for a Federal Amendment.'

"Monday night a free mass meeting under our auspices will be held at Camenish Hall, Englewood, at which time I shall speak on 'What Colorado Can Do for National Suffrage.'"

Oregon

Headquarters: 613 Euler's Building, Portland
Organizer: Miss Virginia Arnold

THE enthusiasm of the Oregon women for the work of the Congressional Union has not lessened since the campaign. Miss Virginia Arnold, who with Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, conducted the election work, is to remain in charge of the headquarters. The federal amendment work has gained a strong foothold in the state, and the women are supporting the movement with great interest. Miss Arnold writes:

"We have started a campaign for five hundred members. We have a chairman in charge of the work and each member is pledged to bring in ten more. In the past week we have averaged about two new members daily.

"On Wednesday we moved into our new quarters and had our opening on Thursday. The newspapers gave a very full account of it as a most delightful occasion. There are ten meetings planned for the next few weeks. Besides this, a committee is taking charge of having letters and resolutions sent to President Wilson and to the Congressmen from Oregon, urging the passage of the Federal Amendment."

Delaware

Headquarters: 305 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington
Organizer: Miss Mabel Vernon

MISS VERNON, fresh from the victory in Nevada, has resumed charge of the Congressional Union work in Delaware, which was under her direction until the time that she left nine months ago for the Nevada campaign. In the meantime the Delaware work has been ably conducted by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, a member of the Advisory Council of the Union, assisted by a strong local committee.

A permanent office assistant has been placed in charge of the Wilmington headquarters, so that Miss Vernon may be left free to spend her time traveling over the state and at the Capital while the legislature is in session.

The main effort of the Delaware workers is now being given to the raising of a fund of several thousand dollars with which to carry the suffrage amendment through the Delaware legislature.

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Treasurer's Report

ON December 7th Congress will convene. The most important business awaiting it is the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Every effort will be made to secure the passage of this measure at this session. To do this and to carry on the work already started in the West, and to concentrate likewise at strategic points in the Eastern States, we must have funds. Much of our work is done by volunteers, but headquarters must be maintained, and printers' and advertising bills paid. Every woman interested in freedom and justice will desire to share in this great work. Therefore give and give generously and your gifts will return to you in the joy of achievement.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD \$100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NOVEMBER 20th TO NOVEMBER 27th, 1914

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Collections	11.85
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Sale of Tickets	18.50

Total\$ 540.70
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*. \$50,031.48

Total to November 27th, 1914.....\$50,572.18

1000 New Subscribers

ONE of our subscribers in sending in her renewal, writes:

"As each copy of the *Suffragist* is received I am always impressed with the excellence of the publication. It makes suffrage a live issue and not an academic problem. Let me congratulate you upon the fine work you are doing and express my best wishes for the continued success of the 'Live wire'."

If every subscriber would realize what a potent factor in any work an official organ is in securing friends for the movement, and would interest others in the paper and secure new subscribers she would be contributing much toward the ultimate success of suffrage. Will you not endeavor to send in at least one new subscription for the new year?

MEMBERS WHO HAVE SECURED NEW SUBSCRIBERS

NOVEMBER 22d TO NOVEMBER 30th

(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

Miss Doris Stevens.....	1
Miss Virginia Arnold	3
Mrs. William L. Colt	1
Mrs. William D. Connor.....	1
Mrs. L. M. B. Mitchell.....	1
Eugene F. Baxter	1
Mrs. John Jay White	2
Mrs. George Etesse	1
Miss Lydia Cherot	1
Miss Ruth Astor Noyes.....	1

Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*....394

Total to November 30th.....407

A Christmas Gift

HAVE you a friend who is a Suffragist, but who is "not quite sure" about the federal amendment?

AND is she open minded and sincere, and willing to think?

OF course she is, or she would not be your friend.

AND are you trying to decide upon a Christmas gift for her?

THEN there is at least one name you can check off your Christmas list today.

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